

Popish Gratitude

O R,

'Tis Nonsense to Talk of it.

108

BEING

A Brief ACCOUNT of the Usage of those Protestants who follow'd the Late King *James*, and the *Pretender*, since the Abdication, both in *France* and *Ireland*.

With a LIST of the COURT of
St. *GERMAINS*.



LONDON:

Printed by J. Read in White-friars near Fleet-Street, 1710.
Price One Penny.

Joseph & Co

It is Noted to Talk of it

BEING

A Brief ACCOUNT of the Usage of
those Provinces who follow'd the late
King James, and the Pretender, since
the Abdication, both in France and the
Isle of Jersey.



With a Map of the
Isle of Jersey.



LONDON

Printed by R. B. in Strand near St. Dunstons Church, 1713.
Price One Penny.

Papish Gratitude.

O R,
'Tis Nonsense to Talk of it.

HAVING enquir'd into the Conduct of those Men, after King *James* was settled on the Throne, and the Opinion Foreigners had of their Murmurs, and the Prince for whom they pretended concern'd; I shall now see how that Prince behav'd himself after his Abdication, what signs of Amendment there appear'd in him; what Hope the Protestants of these Kingdoms might thence conceive of their faring better under him; what Reasons the Church had to wish for his Return, or any *Englishman* to believe he had learn'd any thing good in *France*: Because if the Father, who knew so much of the Temper of the *English*, and had suffer'd so much for his Adherence to *Papery* and *France*, could not Counterfeit his Regret for past Miscarriages, but took hold of all Occasions to shew these Nations they could never take him again, without the loss of their Religion and Liberties, what is to be expected from the pretended Son, who knows nothing of our Temper or Constitution, having never yet seen an *Englishman*, nor heard of us but as of so many Hereticks and Rebels, whom to chastise, as the *Hugonots*, would be Meritorious to God, and Honourable to himself, to revenge the Affronts put upon his Father, and the rest of the Banish'd Family.

In the Paper King *James* left at *Rocheſter*, he cou'd not help recommending his Papists to the care of the Parliament, that they

they might be put on the same Foot with other *Englishmen*: In *Ireland* he was surrounded by *French* Ministers, the Count *D' Avaux*, under the Character of Ambassador, was indeed Governor of that Kingdom for the *French* King; and the same fate wou'd the other Parts of the British Monarchy have, if ever a *French* shou'd prevail there, whatever Title the Pretender might for a while be allow'd to wear. King *James's* Generals were *French*, his Treasurer *French*, and even his Domestick Servants *French*: He had such an Aversion to the *English* Interest, that he cou'd not hide it; and tho' good Policy oblig'd him to dissemble when the Lord *Montjoy* came to *France* to him from *Ireland*, on the Security of his Lord Lieutenants Word; and indeed on his Message, he had him thrown into Prison and kept many Years in great Restraint and Misery, purely because he was a Protestant and a Friend to *England*, in whose Quarrel he afterwards Sacrific'd his Life in *Flanders*.

As soon as that King arriv'd at *Dublin*, the *Irish* Popish Bishops and Clergy, as Bishop *Tyrrel*, Dr. *Moor*, and others advic'd him to consider his Catholick Subjects of that Kingdom for all their Sufferings, and to restore 'em the Churches and Possions usurp'd from them by the *English*; and Mounseur *d' Avaux*, at his Publick Audience, desir'd him in his Masters Name, to shew distinguishing Marks of his Favour to his Popish Subjects, and immediately all the Protestants who had Employments were commanded to lay them down. Not one of that Religion were allow'd to sit in Council, or bear Arms. The Lord *Grenard*, the Lord Chief Justice *Keating*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Tho. Newcomen*, Colonel *Russel*, &c. were set aside, and none permitted to hold any Place but Papists; nay, so negligent was the King of any Person who did not turn Apostate, and quit the Church of *England*, that the worthy Bishop of *Chester*, who had serv'd him in the Ecclesiastical Commission, and other such illegal Services dy'd at *Dublin*, so miserably Poor that he wanted Necessaries, and being Dead, was Bury'd at the charge of a Protestant Prelate.

The Protestants, who had liv'd like a Conquer'd People, expos'd to all the violence of the Soldiers and Robbers, hoped that out of Discretion the King wou'd have Protected them; and he told them indeed he would do what he cou'd for them, but they receiv'd neither Satisfaction nor Justice. As an Instance of which, the Lord *Gilmoy* had in the North cut off a Gentlemans Head, and made the Son carry it on a Pike in Triumph before his Regiment. Upon complaint of this, the King cou'd not help seeming displeas'd, as he was with *Jefferies's* Cruelty in the *West*; yet the Lord *Gilmoy* carried the Sword of State before him to Mass.

The *Irish* Protestants were in such Hopes of being reliev'd by King *James's* Presence, that they comply'd with the *Papish* Government to the full extent of *Passive-Obedience*, till they despair of any redress of their Grievances, and saw nothing but ruin and death before them. Ten days after King *James's* arrival, there was a Proclamation Publish'd, of Pardon for those of the *Sligo* Protestants, who laid down their Arms and submitted to the *Irish* Governour; with exceptions to the Earl of *Mount-Alexander*, the Lord *Viscount Massareen*, the Lord *Kingstone*, and some other Protestant Gentlemen, which was Sign'd by the Lord *Granard*, Sir *Thomas Newcomen*, and other Protestants on King *James's* side, and is a proof that he acted all by *French* and *Irish* Counsels, and had no just reason to dispossess the Protestants of their Employments and Offices. Their Loyalty continuing till they found it wou'd be of no Service to them if they did not likewise renounce their Religion.

What usage the People of *England* and *Scotland* might have expected from him, appears by a Proclamation Publish'd against the *Scots* Convention, about a Month after he came to *Dublin*, Requiring all his good Subjects to attack and destroy them, or else Apprehend and bring them to Condign Punishment: Yet at the same time a sort of a Declaration was Publish'd, where-in was this Expression, That in *Ireland* the defence of his Protestant Subjects had been his Especial Care. Witness the Acts passed in his pretended Parliament to destroy the Protestant Religion

Religion and Interest in that Kingdom, by an appearance o Law ; as an Act for attaining two Thousand four Hundred of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, with several other Bills of the like Tendency, which met with such dispatch, that in a Month or six Weekes time all this was done, and their Estates Seiz'd.

While King *James* was in *England*, he affected a Charitable Disposition toward the *French* Refugees, knowing it wou'd be popular; but being got into *Ireland*, among his *French* and *Irish* Counsellors, he had no longer any Temptation to disguise his own natural Temper, and his Hatred toward the *Reformed Religion*, which render'd him guilty of an Action his very Friends cou'd not Excuse him from the imputation of. For inttead of protecting a Stranger, who had fled his Country for doing his Duty, and discharging his Conscience, and upon Security of the Law, had settled himself in *Ireland*, he deliver'd up one Mounsieur *Roussel*, a *French* Protestant Divine, who had fled from Death in *France*, on Account of his Religion, and was become Minister of the *French* Church at *Dublin*. This Poison, tho' he liv'd peaceably under his Government, was deliver'd to the Count d' *Arvaux*, who sent him in Chains to *France* to suffer the terrible Punishments that had been adjudged him by his Persecutors.

Nor was this all, for two or three Monchs before he was driven from *Ireland*, a great Number of Protestants of the Province of *Munster*, of all Ranks and Ages were seiz'd by the *French*, and forc'd Aboard their Fleet, carry'd into *France*, and there thrown into Dungeons.

After he was expell'd that Kingdom, and return'd to *France*, he found a Court at *St. Germain en laye*, where the Protestants who had left eveey thing to follow his Fortunes, were frown'd upon and neglected. His Chief Domesticks were all *Catholicks*, as will be seen by the following List, only one or two excepted.

The Duke of *Powis*, Lord Chamberlain,

Collonel *Porter*, Vice-Chamberlain,

Collonel *Shelton*, Comptroller,

The Earl of *Dunbarton*, } Lords of the

The Earl of *Abercome*, } Bed-Chamber,

Capt. *Mackdonald*, }

Capt. *Beadles*, } Groomes of the

Capt. *Stafford*, } Bed-Chamber.

Capt. *Trevarion*, }

Fergus Graham, Esq; Privy-Purse.

Edward Sheldon, Esq;

—— *Sheldon*, Esq;

Sir *John Sparrow*,

Mr. *Strickland*, Vice-Cham- } Of the Board of
berlain to the Queen, } Green-Cloth.

Mr. *Browne*, Brother to the Duke *Mountacute*, Secretary
of State for *England*.

Sir *Richard Neagle*, Secretary of State for *Ireland*.

Father *Innes*, President of the *Scots College* at *Paris*,
and Secretary of State for *Scotland*.

John Caryll, Esq; Secretary to the Queen.

—— *Stafford*, Esq; formerly Envoy in *Spain*.

These five were his Junto, his Cabinet Counsellors, the Earl of *Melfort* being sent to *Rome*, not so much as to get Money of the *Pope* as to please the *Irish*, who had engros'd the King's Favour. After the Reduction of *Ireland*, and the suppression of the Rebellion in *Scotland*, many Gentlemen, who had not quite abandon'd their Religion, and still call'd themselves Protestants, fled to his Court, and form'd a kind of Party there, which was soon check'd and abolish'd.

The first they made of their Interest in King *James*, and King *James's* in the *French King*, was to desire Chappel for the Exercise of their Worship, according to the Church of *England*, proposing Dr. *Granville*, as a fit Person to be their Chaplain, who had left all his Deanery of *Durham* to follow
the

the Kings Fortune; who was so averse to granting this small Favour to his Protestant Subjects, that they were forc'd to lead a Gentleman from *St. Germain's* to *London* to Treat with Party there, and particularly with *Dr. Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*, to engage him to represent the matter as of Absolute Necessity, for putting a fair Gloss on King *James's* Intentions, toward his Protestant Subjects, whenever they shou'd return to his Obedience: And they had need of all their Persuasions, for the Queen was not only against allowing this Chappel, but in her Passion told the King her Husband at Dinner, *he wou'd provoke Heaven yet more against him, by Tollerating that Heresy in France, which for being Tollerated in England had ruin'd him there.*

At last the Bishop of *Ely's* Letter, in the Name of the *Nonjurors*, and their Abettors here, prevail'd on that Court, and as Father *Innes* was employ'd to solicit the Affair at that of *Versailles*. It was refer'd to Monsieur *Luvois*, Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, and Father *La Chaise*, for Form-sake. The *French* Court resolving at first to take hold of that opportunity, to make the Project take the better: The Countenance the Proposal met with, was such, That the Chappel was look'd on by the People at *St. Germain's*, as already granted. The Bishop of *Ely*, and the rest of the Faction thought they had gain'd a great Point, Orders were hourly expected for building the House, and in the mean time for converting an Apartment in the Palace to that use; but it meeting with universal Dislike and Contempt, the *French* King thinking it wou'd do no longer good to keep fair with the Hereticks, came into his Brother King *James's* Sentiments, and a Chappel was positively refus'd. In consequence of which, *Dr. Granville* was oblig'd not only to retire from the Court, but also from the Town of *St. Germain's*, to avoid the daily Insults of the Priests, and the dreadful Effects of the Jealousies with which they possess King *James's* Courtiers against him. The only Protestant Divine that remain'd there, was *Dr. Gordon*, a Scotch Bishop, who met with a worse Treatment than the

the other, and was recuc'd to that necessity of Abjuring his Religion for Bread, with which he cou'd not be supply'd but upon those hard Conditions.

The King being at last sensible that this Behaviour of his to good Churchmen, might prejudice his Interest in *Britain*, resolv'd to prevent the coming of any Protestants Divines to *St Germans*, and therefore sent Major *Scot* and Mr. *Macqueen* to *England*, to let his Friends know he desir'd no such Company, and order'd them to make use of other Messengers.

The Affairs of State as has been said, were manag'd by a Cabinet Council, consisting of Mr. *Brown*, Father *Imes*, Sir *Richard Neagle*, Mr. *Caryl*, and Mr. *Stafford*, all Papists. When the Church of *England*-Men saw they could not carry the Point of the Chappel, they made a second Effort to procure, that least one of the five might be of their own Religion, and insisted on the Advantages which might thence redound to his Majesty's Affairs in *Britain*, and earnestly recommended Sir *Edward Herbert*, as a Person well qualify'd to advise as to *English* Affairs. The Reasons they gave for it were so strong, that to prevent their succeeding, the Comptroller *Shelton* and Sir *William Sharp* accus'd Sir *William* of saying, *King James's violent Temper wou'd ruin himself and all that follow'd him*; which Words Sir *Edward Herbert* frankly confess'd; but made so ingenious an Explanation to the Act of Settlement in *Ireland*, that King *James* was well satisfied.

This enrag'd the *Irish* Party in the Court still more, and they contriv'd another Plot against him, charging him with Correspondence with the *English*, and misrepresenting the Actions of that Court, upon which he and an *English* Lady were confin'd, and *Bromfield*, a Quaker-Refugee at *St. Germans*, sent to the *Bastile*. Sir *Edward's* Misfortunes did not put an end to those of the Protestants with their Abdicated King. Mr. *Cockburn*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, who had follow'd that Prince to *Ireland*, and was taken at Sea after the Battle of the *Boyne*, being sent Prisoner to *London*, on a Proposal of exchanging him for Captain *St. Lo*, then Prisoner in *France*, he was enlarg'd. During his stay at *London* he ingratiated himself

himself with the Non-jurors, that he was recommended by them to King *James*, as a very proper Person to serve him in Matters of the greatest Importance. When he arriv'd at *St. Germain's*, he told the King his Friends in *England* were of Opinion, that Things would never go well as long as the Earl of *Melfort*, who was then return'd from *Rome*, had a Hand in them, and that the best way to procure the Affection of his *British* Subjects would be to employ Protestants. This was the Instruction he had from the Party in *England*, and for this Mr. *Cockburn* a few Days after his Arrival, was commanded by the *French* Court to leave *France* under severe Penalties, which being forc'd to do, he liv'd afterwards in Poverty in *Holland* and *Hamburg*.

The Submission of the *Scotch* *Hilanders* affords us more convincing Proofs of King *James's* Hatred to the Protestant Religion, and his Ingratitude to such who had sacrific'd their All to Support his sinking Fortune in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Dumferling* the Viscount *Dundee*, Son of him who was kill'd, the Lord *Dunkel*, Colonel *Canon*, Colonel *Graham*, and several other Protestants who had forfeited their Estates, retir'd into *France*, as did also Colonel *Buchan*, Colonel *Maxwel*, Colonel *Wauchope* and some other Popish Gentlemen; but when they came to *St. Germain's*, the Papists were immediately prefer'd to considerable Posts both in the *French* and *Irish* Armies, while the Protestants, though their Merit was greater, were expos'd to all imaginable Contempts. The Earl of *Dumferling* and Colonel *Canon* are too illustrious Examples of King *James's* Inveteracy against the Protestant Religion, and Ingratitude to Protestants, to be here pass'd by. The Earl through a false Notion of Loyalty and Honour, had left his Noble Family and large Fortune to follow that Prince in his Exile; yet happening to quarrel at *St. Germain's* with one Captain *Brown* a Papist, about a Trifle, the Captain was encourag'd and countenanc'd in it by the Court, and made Commander of a Company of *Scotch* Reformed Officers in *Catalonia*, while my Lord liv'd in Contempt, purely on account of his Religion, which ill Treatment broke his Heart, and he sunk under the weight of his hard Fate at *St. Germain's*. He was deny'd Christian Burial after he was dead, and his Friends were forc'd to hide his Corps in a Chamber, till an opportunity was found of digging a Hole in the Fields in the Night, in which they were glad to deposit it, for fear of worse Usage. Colonel *Canon's* Sufferings are equal to the Earls; He was General of King *James's* Army in *Scotland*, and serv'd him so faithfully, every Body expected he would be rewarded with some Great Command at his Arrival at *St. Germain's*; but he positively refusing to abandon the little Religion he had, was reduc'd to the scandalous Allowance of Half a Crown a Day, while Papists who had serv'd him, were prefer'd to good Posts. This unhappy Gentlemen finding himself thus neglected, took it so much to Heart, that he Dy'd of Grief and Want, having taken the Sacrament from the Hands of Dr. *Granville*, two Days before his Death; but a Priest who would not stir from him when he was Dying, thrust a Wafer down his Throat when he was Speechless; and to have the Merit of his Conversion, gave out he Dy'd a Catholick, which got him the Favour of Burial, or his Corps had far'd as did the Earl of *Dumferlings*.

I am satisfy'd the little Passages relating to the History of the Court of *St. Germain's*, of which we know so little, must be as entertaining to the Reader, as they were to me, or I should not have repeated them. They Paint in lively Colours, the Gratitude of a Court, which too many of us are more fond of now 'tis at the lowest Ebb of its Fortune, than when the Conspiracies of the Murmerers in *England*, and the Success of the *French* Arms, made their Condition not quite so desperate. We see by this, what are the Sentiments the late Queen has Educated her Pretended Son in of us and our Church, and how vain it is for any Good Church-Man, tho' a Thousand *French* Oaths were on their side, to flatter themselves that a Prince thus bred, can be Kind to a Church, which has never been represented to him but as a Nursery of Heresy and Rebellion. There remains two or three Instances more, of the Conduct of the Abdicated Court towards Protestants, which the Curious may be diverted with, tho' they had no such Concern upon them, as gave Occasion to this History.

It is well known that Sir *James Montgomery* was indefatigable in his Endeavours, to re-establish King *James* in *Scotland*, by the same Parliament that declar'd him to have forfeited his Right. He was after that for several Years, his most Active Man in *England*: He wrote and publish'd that Declaration in his Name, which was to have attended the *La Hogue* Invasion, and afterwards another Treasonable Pamphlet, Entitul'd, *Britain's Just Complaints*. In a word, he was his constant Champion on all his Occasions, always drawing his Pen in his Quarrel, and ready always to do the same with his Sword; yet this very Sir *James Montgomery*, who had done such great Things, and run such hazard for him, being oblig'd to fly to *France*, having escap'd from a Messenger, could not obtain any Share in that Prince's good Graces, meerly because he was a Staunch Church-Man. He was Brow-beaten by the Court Priests, upbraided every Day with having been once in the Prince of *Orange's* Interest, and at last forc'd to retire to *Paris*, where he dy'd neglected, with the Melancholly Reflection of the miserable State he had brought himself into. Nor was it only enough to be a Protestant, to acquire the Displeasure of the *St. Germain's* Court, to shew the least Inclination to the *British* Constitution, and preserving the Liberties of the People, was as sure a way to Disgrace, as the Earl of *Lauderdale* a Papist, found to his Cost. 'Tis true his Lady was of the Reform'd Religion, and that added to his Guilt, which was his being an Enemy to the King's Violent Measures. For this reason he never was trusted with any Post. As much a Catholick as he was, he heartily advis'd King *James* to let the Protestants have the Administration of his small Government, recommending the Earl of *C* ——— and the Non-juring Bishops as the fittest to serve him in *England*, and the Lord *Hume*, *Southesk* and *Sinclair* in *Scotland*; but his Advice was so ill taken, that he was enjoin'd to send his Lady to *England*, to return thence no more; was himself forbid the Court, and reduc'd to a Pension of 100 Pisto'es a Year. Not long after he dy'd of Grief at *Paris*, seeing no Probability of his Master's changing his Measures. His Brother, Mr. *Alexander Mastland*, had, on several Occasions, behav'd himself very bravely in that Prince's Service; he had also deserted King *William's*, under whom he had a Command once in the *Scotts* Guards, but coming to *St. Germain's*, and being suffer'd to Starve, he chose rather to make Peace with an offended Government, than live in the Contempt of an Ungrateful one. Of this kind was the Treatment Sir *Andrew Forrester* met with; that Gentleman was always zealously attach'd to the Duke of *York's* Interest when a Subject, and when a King; he was the Devoted Creature of his Pleasure; he was imprison'd in this Tower, for the Plot that was carrying on for his Invasion 1692. Yet notwithstanding this, and the Experience he had in *Scottish* Affairs, he could never obtain any Share in that Prince's Confidence. Upon his Arrival at *St. Germain's* he found that all his Merits and Sufferings were not a Counter-balance to the Objection of his being a Protestant. He was not intrusted, and after a vain Attendance on that Court, for some Trifling Employment, the best Reward he could get, was a Pass to return to *England*, they having no occasion of him there.

Sir *Theophilus Oglesborp*, who had been very serviceable to the Duke of *York*, before his Accession to the Throne, who by means of his Wife, a servant to one of *King Charles's* Popish Mistresses, had the Honour of being made one of the Tools to advance Arbitrary Power in that King's Time, who had shewn himself so zealous for the Father, that he forgot good Manners, and affronted the Daughter by Cocking as she came by, when Queen, in the *Mall*; who had been in every Plot since his Old Master went to *France*, to facilitate his Return; yet his Usage was so little answerable to his Desert and Expectation, that he was glad to get Home to old *England*, and submit to that Government, whose Lenity to such Offenders, increas'd their Number.

Mr. *Fergus Grahme*. Brother to Colonel *Grahme*, as well as to the Lord *Preston*, who was Condemn'd for Treason against King *William*, for no other Reason but his being a Church-Man, was dismiss'd the Court of *St. Germain's*.

Sir *William Sharp*, tho' he was forc'd to leave that Court, to save his Estate, pursuant to an Act of Parliament in *Ireland*, yet in Truth it was their Ingratitude to him, which occasion'd it; for falling under Distrust with *Melfort* and *Imes*, he grew into Contempt: His Pension allow'd him while the *Scotts* Rebellion lasted was taken from him, and because he would not quit his Religion, he was forc'd to quit *France*, and throw himself on the Mercy of his Lawful Sovereigns.

The Usage of Dr. *Cockburn*, a *Scotts* Divine, is beyond any thing that can be imagin'd; he was banish'd *Scotland* for Treasonable Practices, and forc'd to fly from *England*, for writing Libels against the State. He thought to have found an Assylum at *St. Germain*, if not a Reconpence; but instead of this, he was perpetually tear'd by the Priests to change his Religion, and when they could not prevail, they represented him as a dangerous Person, and got him sent from *France*, whence he retir'd to *Ireland*, and there Liv'd in Want and Misery.

Mrs. *Ashton*, whose Husband was Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd, for Plotting against K. *William*, might, one would think, have expected more favour; but as soon as she came to *St. Germain*, Priests were sent to tell her, that nothing but being a *Roman Catholick*, could recommend a Woman to the Queen's Service, which the Unfortunate Widow declining to do, no Notice was taken of her: and the Dying of Grief was refus'd Burial, till her Father, Mr. *Rigby*, of *Covent-Garden*, as an Act of Special Grace, and at great Charge, obtain'd Leave to have her Body brought over into *England*.

What need of any more Instances, to prove King *James's* incurable Aversion to our Church, and all Church-Men; else I might Name the Lord *Hennmore*, Mr. *Louthian*, Capt. *Murray*, Capt. *Dalget*, Capt. *Maygil*, Capt. *Maclean*, Capt. *Fielding*, Mr. *Kinnaird*, and several Hundreds more, who left the Court of *St. Germain*, because they could not have Bread, unless they would change their Religion; and rather chose to run the Hazard of Imprisonment in *England*, than stay and starve in *France*.

The Earl of *Middleton* having the greatest Interest of any of King *James's* Followers in the Friends they left here, the King carry'd it the most kindly to him, and seem'd to have some Confidence in him. However, he was never Prime Minister as *Melfort* was, nor had any Concern in the Management of Affairs between *Versailles* and *St. Germain*, that being done by *Imes* and *Porter*. He was seldom call'd to Council, and the *French* Court never depended on his Correspondence. He always declar'd against restoring King *James* by a *French* Power, wisely and honestly considering, that it would be to reduce *Britain* to the State of being a Province to *France*: For which he so incurr'd the Displeasure of that Court, that he was abridg'd of his Pension; and to gain a sorry Subsistence, oblig'd to abandon that Religion, which had till then, been the occasion of his Misfortunes. The worst of it all was, his Conversion was never thought Sincere, and he could not get above 500 Crowns Yearly for his Maintenance. A Poor Bargain he made, and his Unhappy Life and Death shew what those may expect, who place their Hopes in the Establishment of Popery and Tyranny, the sure Companions of the Pretender.

6 AP 58

F I N I S.

